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CANDID APPEAL

TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES,

PROVING THAT THE

DOCTRINES ADVANCED AND THE MEASURES PURSUED

BY THE

ABOLITIONISTS,

RELATIVE TO THE

SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION,

ARE INCONSISTENT WITH

The Teachings and Directions of the Bible,

AND THAT THOSE

CLERGYMEN

ENGAGED IN THE DISSEMINATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES,
SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY DISMISSED BY THEIR
RESPECTIVE CONGREGATIONS,

AS FALSE TEACHERS.

BY SIMON CLOUGH, D.D. LL.D.

Pastor of the Christian Society, Fall River, Mass.

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A

CANDID APPEAL,

&c.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :

A SOCIETY, of a very extraordinary character, was organized in the month of December last, in the city of Philadelphia, known and designated by the name of the "*National Anti-Slavery Society*." The Society has published and sent forth to the world a "*Declaration of Sentiments*," including the "*Designs and Measures*" of the Society, and the objects they propose to accomplish. According to this Declaration, the following sentiments, principles, and measures, are distinctly avowed :—

"We maintain, that in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth ;—and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

"We further maintain, that every man has a right to his own body, to the products of his own labour, to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal an African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African. That every American citizen, who retains a single human being in involuntary bondage, is, according to the Scripture, a man-stealer ; that the slaves ought to be instantly set free, and brought under the protection of law ; that all those laws which

are now in force," admitting the right of slavery, are, therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the social relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of the holy commandments; and that, therefore, they ought to be instantly abrogated.

"We further affirm, that all persons of colour, who possess the necessary qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

"We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves. We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation, which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger; it must be broken up.

"We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village of our land. We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and rebuke. We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals. We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb. We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery. We shall encourage the labour of free-men over that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions, and we shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole to a speedy repentance.

"These are our views and principles—these our designs and measures, With entire confidence in the

over-ruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the truths of divine revelation, as upon the everlasting rock."

Such are the principles and designs of the Society, as set forth in the words of their own "Declaration," which was subscribed by the members of the National Convention, and under their express sanction published to the world.

This Society has been organized under the special and particular direction of clergymen, who have been the active and efficient members of the Society since its organization: they have been the principal agents and orators who have addressed assemblies in the different sections of our country on this excitable topic. Having lain a train of powder in various directions through our widely-extended country, they propose to elicit a spark from heaven, and kindle one general conflagration through this widely-spreading Republic. Hence their constant appeals to Heaven, to God, and to the Bible, in support of their principles, and in justification of their measures. They use the most fiery and excitable language, and endeavour to bring all the moving and quickening influences of Christianity to operate upon the minds of the community, for the purpose of enlisting them in the cause of abolition.

It is not our intention, at this time, to go into a general discussion of the question of slavery, as it exists in this country, to either justify it, or to propose any remedy for it. We propose merely to show, that the doctrine, principles, and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society, as set forth in their "Declaration," are wholly inconsistent with the doctrine and teachings of the Bible on this subject, and that no Minister of the Gospel can consistently become a member of that Society, or advocate its measures. I wish here to be distinctly understood. The question at issue is not whether we shall continue the African slave trade, or whether we shall enslave the free coloured population of our country; the question is simply concerning those who are now held in a state of

legal servitude. What is the duty of the Minister of the Gospel towards this class of our fellow-beings, and what are the teachings of the Bible on this subject, which should be observed and enforced by every Minister of the sanctuary. The doctrines and teachings of the Bible on this subject are a safe directory, and should be an infallible guide to every Minister of Christ. We propose to inquire into the teachings and directions of the Old Testament on the subject of slavery, and then to examine the New Testament respecting the teachings and directions of Jesus Christ and his Apostles on the same question, and the directions they have given the Ministers of the Gospel respecting slaves and slave-holders.

In order, however, fully to understand and approve the doctrine of the Old Testament on the subject of slavery, it will be necessary to make some preliminary observations.

Philosophers, who have made human society the subject of their speculations, have divided civil society into five classes. These classes of society include all the various civil conditions of men, from the most rude and barbarous, to the most civilized and cultivated.

1. *First class.* In this state of society, the human species are in the lowest and rudest state; their natural and mental powers are very faintly developed, but their external senses are acute, and their organs are active and vigorous. Hunting and fishing are the chief employments on which they depend for support. During that portion of their time, which is not spent in these pursuits, they are sunk in listless indolence. Destitute of foresight, they are roused to active exertion only by the pressure of immediate necessity, or the urgent calls of appetite. Accustomed to endure the severity of the elements, and but scantily provided with the means of subsistence, they acquire habits of resignation and fortitude, which are beheld with astonishment by those who enjoy the plenty and indulgence of civilized life. But in the state of want and depression, the milder affections are unknown; or if the breast is at all sensible to their impulse, it is ex-

tremely feeble. Husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, are united by the weakest ties. Want and misfortune are not pitied. Why, indeed, should they, where they cannot be relieved? Of arts they are almost entirely destitute. They may use some instruments for fishing and the chase; but these must be extremely simple and rude. If they are acquainted with any means to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the elements, both their houses and clothing will be awkward and inconvenient.

2. *Second class.* But few human beings have been found in so rude a state as that which we have described. Even those tribes which we denominate savage, are, for the most part, farther removed from mere animal life. They generally appear united under some species of government, exercising the powers of reason, capable of morality, though that morality be not very refined; displaying some degree of social virtue, and acting under the influence of religious sentiments. Persons in this state of society, however, are still to be found in the hunting and fishing state; but they are further advanced towards social life, and are become more sensible towards the impulse of social affections. We behold its members in a more comfortable condition, and find reason to view the human character with more complacency and respect. Huts are now built, more commodious, clothes are fashioned, instruments for the annoyance of wild beasts, and even of enemies, are contrived; in short, arts and sciences, and social order, and religious sentiments, and ceremonies, now make their appearance in the rising society, and serve to characterize it by the particular form which distinguishes each of them. But though the social order is no longer unknown nor unobserved, yet the form of government is extremely simple, and its ties are but loose and feeble. In this state of society the principal distinction between the young and the old is experience; if the old, however, have experience, the young have strength and activity. The whole tribe deliberate; the old give their advice; each individual of

the assembly receives or rejects it at pleasure ; and the warrior who is the most distinguished for strength, address, and valour, leads out the youth of the tribe to the chase, or against the enemy. War, which in the former state did not prevail, as they, who were strangers to the social sentiments, were at the same time scarcely capable of being enemies, now first begins to depopulate the thinly inhabited regions, where those hunters and fishers pursue their prey. They are scattered, possibly, in scanty and separate tribes, over an immense tract of country ; but they know no medium between the affection which brethren of the same tribe bear to each other, and the hatred of enemies. Though thinly scattered over the earth, yet the hunting parties of the different tribes will sometimes meet as they range the forest ; and when they meet, they will naturally view each other with a jealous eye ; for the success of one party in the chase may cause the other to be unsuccessful ; and while the one snatches the prey, the other must return home to all the pangs of famine. Inveterate hostility will, therefore, long prevail among neighbouring tribes in the hunting state.

3. *Third class.* In contemplating the third class of civilized society, we shall carry our views a little forward, and survey human life as approaching somewhat nearer to a civilized and enlightened state. As property is acquired, inequality and subordination of ranks necessarily follow ; and when men are no longer equal, the many are soon subjected to the will of the few. But what gives rise to these new phenomena is, that after having suffered from the precariousness of the fishing and hunting state, men begin to extend their cares beyond the present moment, and to think of providing some supply for future wants. When they are enabled to provide for such a supply, either by pursuing the chase with new eagerness and perseverance, by gathering the spontaneous fruits of the earth, or by breeding tame animals, these acquisitions are at first the property of the whole society, and distributed from a common store to

each individual according to his wants ; but as various reasons will soon concur to convince the community, that by this mode of distribution, industry and activity are treated with injustice, while negligence and indolence receive more than their due, each individual will in a short time become his own steward, and a community of goods will be abolished. As soon as distinct ideas of property are formed, it must be unequally distributed ; and as soon as property is unequally distributed, there arises an inequality in ranks. Here we have the origin of the depression of the female sex in rude ages, of the tyrannical authority exercised by parents over their children, and of slavery. The women cannot display the same perseverance, or activity, or address, as the men in pursuing the chase ; they are, therefore, left at home ; and from that moment are no longer equals, but slaves and dependents, who must subsist by the bounty of the males, and must, therefore, submit with implicit obedience to all their capricious commands. Even before the era of property, the female sex were viewed as inferiors ; but till that period they were not reduced to a state of abject slavery.

In this period of society new notions are formed of the relative duties. Men now become citizens, masters, and servants ; husbands, parents, &c. It is impossible to enumerate all the various modes of government which take place among the tribes who have advanced to this stage ; but one thing is certain, that the authority of the few over the many is now first established, and that the rise of property first introduces inequality of ranks. In one place, we shall find the community subjected during this period to the will of a single person ; in another, power may be lodged in the hands of a number of chiefs ; and in a third, every individual may have a voice in creating public officers, and in enacting laws for the support of public order. But as no code of laws is formed during this period, justice is not very impartially administered, nor are the rights of individuals very faithfully guarded. Many actions, which will afterwards be

considered as heinously immoral, are now considered as praiseworthy or indifferent. This is the age of hero worship, and of household and tutelar gods ; for it is in this stage of society that the invention of arts, which gave rise to that worship, contributes most conspicuously to the public good. War, too, which we consider as beginning first to ravage the earth during the former period, and which is another cause of the deification of dead men, will still prevail in this age, and be carried on with no less ferocity than before, though in a more systematic form.

4. *Fourth class.* But let us contemplate our species in a new light, as having acquired greater dignity and amiableness of character. Let us view them as husbandmen, artisans, and legislators. Whatever circumstances might turn the attention of any people from hunting to agriculture, or cause the herdsman to yoke his oxen for the cultivation of the ground, certain it is that this occupation would produce a happy change on the character and circumstances of men, it would oblige them to exert a more regular and persevering industry. The hunter is like one of those birds that are described as passing the winter in a torpid state. The shepherd's life is extremely indolent. Neither of these is very favourable to refinement. But different is the condition of the husbandman. His labours succeed each other in regular rotation through the year. Each season with him has its proper employments ; he, therefore, must exert active, persevering industry ; and in this state we often find the virtues of rude and polished nations united. This is the period where barbarism ends and civilization begins. Nations have existed for ages in the hunting and shepherd state, fixed as by a kind of stagnation, without advancing further. But scarce any instances occur in the history of mankind of those who once reached the state of husbandmen, remaining long in that condition without rising to a more civilized and polished state. Where a people turn their attention in any considerable degree to the objects of agriculture, a dis-

tion of occupations naturally arises among them. The husbandman is so constantly employed through the several seasons of the year in the labours of the field, that he has no longer leisure to exercise all the rude arts known among his countrymen. He has not time to fashion the instruments of husbandry, to prepare his clothes, to build his house, to manufacture household utensils, or to tend those tame animals which he continues to rear. These different departments now begin to employ different persons ; each of whom dedicates his whole time and attention to his own occupation. The manufacture of cloth is for some time managed exclusively by the women ; but smiths and carpenters arise among the men. Metals begin now to be considered as valuable materials. The intercourse of mankind is now placed on a new footing. Before, every individual practised all the arts that were known, as far as was necessary for supplying himself with the conveniences of life. Now he confines himself to one or two of them ; and, in order to obtain a necessary supply of the productions of those arts, which he does not cultivate himself, he gives in exchange a part of the productions of his own labours. Here we have the origin of commerce. In process of time commerce gives birth to currency, which serves as a medium of the exchange of property.

One of the noblest changes which the introduction of the arts by agriculture produces on the form and circumstances of society, is the introduction of regular government and laws. In tracing the history of ancient nations, we scarce ever find laws introduced at an earlier period. Minon, Solon, Lycurgus, do not appear to have formed codes of wisdom and justice for regulating the manners of their countrymen, till after the Cretans, the Athenians, and the Lacedemonians, had made some progress in agriculture and the useful arts.

Religion, under all its various forms, has in every stage of society a mighty influence on the sentiments and conduct of men ; and the arts cultivated in society have, on the other hand, some influence on the system of religious

belief. One happy effect which will result from the invention of arts, though perhaps not immediately, will be to render the characters of the deities more benevolent and amiable, and the rites of their worship more mild and humane.

The female sex in this period generally find the yoke of their slavery somewhat lightened. Men now become easier in their circumstances ; the social affections assume stronger influences over the mind ; plenty, and security, and ease, at once communicate both delicacy and keenness to the sensual desires. All these circumstances concur to make men relax, in some degree, that tyrannic sway by which they before depressed the softer sex. The foundation of that empire, where beauty triumphs over both wisdom and strength, now begins to be laid. Such are the effects which history warrants us to attribute to agriculture and the arts ; and such the outlines of the character of that which we reckon the fourth stage in the progress of society from rudeness to refinement.

5. *Fifth class.* Let us advance one step further. We have not surveyed mankind in their most polished and cultivated state. Society is rude at the period when the arts first begin to show themselves, in comparison of that state to which it is raised by the industrious cultivation of them. The useful arts are first cultivated with such steady industry as to raise the community to opulence, and to furnish them with articles for commerce with foreign nations. The useful arts cannot be raised to this height, without leading man to the pursuit of science. Commerce with foreign nations, skill in the useful arts, and a taste for science, naturally aid each other, and conspire to improve the fine arts. Hence magnificent buildings, noble statues, paintings expressive of life, action, and passion, and poems in which imagination adds new graces and solemnity to nature, and gives the appearances of life more irresistible power over the affections of the heart. Hence are moral distinctions more carefully studied, and the rights of every individual and of every order in society better understood and more

accurately defined. Moral science is generally the first scientific pursuit which strongly attracts the attention of men. Accordingly, when we view the state of literature in this period, we perceive that poetry, history, and morals, are the branches chiefly cultivated. Arts are usually casual inventions, and long practised before rules and principles on which they are founded assume the form of science. But morality, if considered as an art, is that art which men have soonest and most constantly occasion to practice. Besides, we are so constituted by the wisdom of nature, that human actions, and the events which befall human beings, have more powerful influence than any other object to engage and fix our attention. Hence we are enabled to explain why morality, and those branches of literature more immediately connected with it, are almost always cultivated in preference to physical science.

This is the period when human virtue and human abilities shine with most splendour. Rudeness, ferocity, and barbarism, are now banished. Luxury has made her appearance; but as yet she is the friend and the benefactress of society. Commerce has stimulated and rewarded industry, but has not yet contracted the heart and debased the character. Wealth is not yet become the sole object of pursuit. The charms of social intercourse are known and relished; but domestic duties are not yet deserted for public amusements. The female sex acquire new influence, and contribute much to refine and polish the manners of their lords. Religion now assumes a milder and more pleasing form; splendid rites, magnificent temples, pompous sacrifices, and gay festivals, give even superstition an influence favourable to the happiness of mankind. The gloomy notions and barbarous rites of former periods fall into disuse. Philosophy teaches men to discard such parts of their religion as are unfriendly to good morals, and have any tendency to call forth or cherish unsocial sentiments in the heart.

War, which is prosecuted in this state of society, no

longer retains its former ferocity ; nations no longer strive to extirpate one another ; to humble, not to destroy, is now the object. Prisoners are no longer murdered in cold blood, subjected to horrid and excruciating tortures, or condemned to hopeless slavery. They are ransomed or exchanged ; they return to their country, and again fight under her banners. In this period the arts of government are likewise better understood, and practised so as to contribute most to the interests of society. Whether monarchy, or democracy, or aristocracy, be the established form, the rights of individuals and of society are in general respected. The interests of society are so well understood, that the few, in order to preserve their influence over the many, find it necessary to act rather as the faithful servants than the imperious lords of the public. Though the liberties of a nation in this state be not accurately defined by law, nor their property guaranteed by any legal institutions, yet their governors dare not violate their liberties, nor deprive them wantonly of their property. This is regarded as the golden age of society : every trace of barbarism is effaced, and vicious luxury has not yet begun to sap the virtue and happiness of the community. Men live not in listless indolence ; but the industry in which they are engaged is not of such a nature as to overpower their strength, or exhaust their spirits. The social affections have now the strongest influence on men's sentiments and conduct.

But human affairs are scarce ever stationary. The circumstances of mankind are almost always changing, either growing better or worse. Their manners are ever in the same fluctuating state. They either advance towards perfection, or degenerate. Scarce have they attained that happy period in which we have contemplated them, when they begin to decline, till they perhaps fall back into a state nearly as low as that from which we suppose them to have emerged. Instances of this unhappy degeneracy occur more than once in the history of mankind ; and we may finish this short sketch of the history of society by mentioning in what manner this

degeneracy takes place. Perhaps, strictly speaking, every thing but the simple necessities of life may be denominated luxury : for a long time, however, the welfare of society is best promoted, while its members aspire after something more than the mere necessities of life. As long as these superfluities are to be obtained only by active and honest exertions ; as long as they only engage the leisure hours without becoming the chief objects of pursuit, the employment which they give to the faculties is favourable both to the virtues and the happiness of the human race.

The period arrives, however, when luxury is no longer serviceable to the interests of the nations ; when she is no longer a graceful, elegant, active form, but a languid, overgrown, and bloated carcass. It is the love of luxury, which contributed so much to the civilization of society, that now brings on its decline. Arts are cultivated and improved, and commerce extended, till enormous opulence be acquired : the effect of opulence is to awake the fancy, to conceive ideas of new and capricious wants, and to inflame the breast with new desires. Here we have the origin of the selfishness which, operating in conjunction with caprice, and the violence of unbridled passions, contributes so much to virtuous manners. Selfishness, caprice, indolence, effeminacy, all join to loosen the bonds of society, to bring on the degeneracy both of the useful and fine arts, to banish at once the mild and austere virtues, to destroy civil order and subordination, and to introduce in their room anarchy and despotism.

History furnishes us with numerous examples of the declining state of society. The Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Persians, were all of them once flourishing nations, but have been brought low by luxury and an unhappy corruption of manners. The Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabians, owed their fall to the same causes ; and some of the European nations seem to be rapidly treading in their downward steps. The Portuguese, the Venetians, and the Spaniards, have already fallen, and some other nations are on the decline.

The most striking example, however, of the declining state of society with which we are furnished by modern history, is **St. Domingo**, one of the **West India** islands. This astonishing change in the decline of society on that island, is owing to the revolution of **1789**. In this revolution the civil government passed out of the hands of the white into the coloured population, and the condition of slavery ceased on the island. The exports of this island, from **January 1, 1789**, to **December 31** of the same year, were **47,516,531 lbs.** white sugar ; **93,573,300 lbs.** brown sugar ; **76,835,219 lbs.** coffee ; **7,004,274 lbs.** cotton ; **758,628 lbs.** indigo ; and other articles, as tanned hides, molasses, spirits, &c. to the value of **46,873 livres**. The value of all these articles taken together was nearly fifty millions of dollars. At the present time there is not one sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation on the island. There is now exported from the island about **5,000,000 lbs.** of inferior coffee, which grows wild, and is picked up by the inhabitants off the ground, whence it falls after it becomes ripe. The inhabitants are so indolent, that it has become necessary to declare it under martial law, and use a military force to compel the inhabitants to labour during certain hours of the day.

From the foregoing observations it will appear evident, that when we speak of any state or condition of society, we use the word comparatively, as referring to some other state or condition of society, either better or worse, as the case may be. All states and conditions of society are essentially imperfect, and must necessarily remain so, from the imperfection of the elements of which they are composed. One nation is necessarily rude and uncultivated, from the character of its individual members, while another is polished and refined, because it is composed of men whose minds are improved and cultivated. The character of society must be determined by the state of the individuals of whom it is composed. Individuals of the human species, while in the lowest and rudest state, can never be formed into polished society, where arts, and science, and commerce, and manufactories, and

agriculture flourish, any more than the rough materials of nature, without first being prepared, can be incorporated into a magnificent building. The stones of which the Temple was composed, were reduced to proper shape and size, before they were united together in that noble structure, which was the pride and glory of the Jewish nation. In like manner, the individuals of whom society is composed, must be properly trained and cultivated before they can be incorporated into civil society with any advantage to themselves, or benefit to the community. If an opposite course should be pursued, all civilized society would be broken down, as when the northern hordes over-run Europe, and barbarism again assumed her iron sway.

It should also be observed that the most rude and barbarous state of society does not admit of the condition of slavery. Mankind must have made considerable improvement before the state of society will admit the condition of slavery. Men must have acquired an idea of property before the necessary distinction in society can make its appearance, which gives birth to slavery. Perhaps no state of society is more favourable to the condition of slavery than that of the patriarchal. When men lived together under this form of government, they employed themselves chiefly in tending flocks and herds. Children in such circumstances cannot soon rise to an equality with their parents, where a man's importance depends on his property, and not on his abilities. When flocks and herds are the chief articles of property, the son can only obtain these from his father; in general, the son, therefore, must be entirely dependent on the father for the means of subsistence. If the parent during his life bestow on his children any part of his property, he may do it on such conditions as shall make their dependence on him continue till the period of his death. When the community by this event are deprived of their head, instead of continuing in a state of union, and selecting some one from among themselves, whom they may invest with the authority of a parent,

they separate into so many distinct tribes, each subjected to the authority of a different lord, the master of the family, and the proprietor of all the flocks and herds belonging to it. Under such a form of government, all dependents are necessarily reduced to the condition of slavery. This condition of slavery, however, is more desirable than the more rude and barbarous state of society which we have described.

Having made these preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed to inquire into the doctrine and teachings of the Bible on the subject of slavery. In order, however, fully to understand the Bible on this subject, it will be necessary to inquire into the import of several words, which are employed by the sacred writers when speaking on the subject of slavery.

Servant. We but seldom meet with the word *slave* in the common version. Hence it is supposed by some, that there is no word in the original Scriptures, either in the Greek or Hebrew, answering to the word *slave* in the English. But this is a mistake. The translators have employed the word *servant* in the common version, not because it conveys a different idea from the word *slave*, but because it is a softer term. The English word *servant* comes from the Latin word *servus*, which is derived from *servare*, “to preserve,” and signifies, not a *hired servant*, but a *slave*. Such men were called by the Romans *servi*, because they were captives, whose lives were preserved on the condition of their becoming the property of the victor. Since slavery ceased in England, this word has acquired by time a softer signification, and is now generally employed to designate an *obedient attendant*.

Doulos. The Greek word *doulos*, which answers to the Hebrew word *abar*, literally signifies a slave. Dr. Parkhurst gives the following definition of this word: “*one in a servile state; a servant or slave.*” Of the wretched condition of *slaves*, according to the laws and customs of the *Romans*, a late learned writer, Dr. John Taylor, gives us a delineation:

“The common lot of *slaves in general*,” says he, “was, with the ancients, in many circumstances, very deplorable. Of their situation take the following instances. They were held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus, for no men, for dead men, for beasts*; nay, were in a *much worse* state than any cattle whatever. They had no head in the state, no name, no register, no tribe. They were *not capable of being injured*; had no heirs, and therefore could make no will of course. Exclusive of what is called their *peculium*, whatever they acquired was their master’s; they could not plead nor be pleaded, but were *excluded from all civil concerns whatever*;—were not entitled to the rights and considerations of *matrimony*; nor were the proper objects of *cognition*, nor *affinity*;—they could be *sold, transferred, or pawned* as goods, or personal estate; for goods they were, and such were they esteemed; might be tortured for evidence; punished at the discretion of their lord, and even *put to death* by his authority; together with many other civil incapacities, which I have not room to enumerate.” The description which is here given of slavery, according to the Roman law, will enable us to enter into the full meaning of several passages in the New Testament, particularly in the Epistles of St. Paul.

The word *doulos*, in the New Testament, is used in a religious as well as in a political or civil sense. “The word *doulos*,” says Dr. Clark, (Com. on Rom. I. 1.), “which we translate *servant*, properly means a *slave*, one who is the *entire property* of his master; and is used here by the Apostle with great propriety. He felt he was not *his own*, and that his *life* and *powers* belonged to his heavenly *owner*, and that he had no right to dispose of, or employ them, but in the strictest subserviency to the will of his Lord. In this sense, and in this spirit, he is the willing *slave* of Jesus Christ, and this is, perhaps, the highest character which any soul of man can attain on this side of eternity. “I am wholly the Lord’s; and wholly devoted in the spirit of sacrificial obedience to

the constant, complete, and energetic performance of the divine will." A *friend* of God is high ; a *son* of God is higher ; but the *servant*, or, in the above sense, the *slave* of God, is higher than all ; in a word, he is a person who feels he has no property in himself, and that God is all, and in all."

Thus, St. Paul, in reference to the custom of purchasing slaves, on whose heads a price was then fixed, just as upon any other commodity, and who, when bought, were the entire and unalienable property of the purchaser, by a very beautiful and expressive similitude, represents Christians as the *servants*, *slaves* of Christ ; informs them that an immense price has been paid for them ; that they were not at their own disposal ; but in every respect, both as to body and mind, were the sole and absolute property of God. "Ye are not your own ; for ye are bought with a price : therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." I. Cor. vi. 20.) St. Paul usually styles himself the *servant*, or *slave*, of Christ ; and in a passage in his Epistle to the Galatians, alluding to the signatures with which slaves in those days were branded, he tells them, he carried about with him plain and indelible characters impressed in his body, which evinced him to be the *servant*, or *slave*, of his master Jesus. "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." (Gal. vi. 17.)

Misthios. The Greek word *misthios*, which answers to the Hebrew word *shabyr*, signifies a *hired servant*, a *hireling*, in contradistinction to a *slave*. These words are all rendered in the common version by the word *servant*, which signifies, as we have already observed, either a slave, or a hired attendant. The word *misthios* is used in the parable of the prodigal son, who said, "How many *hired servants* of my father's have bread enough, and to spare, and I perish with hunger." Hence he resolved on his return, to petition his father to make him as one of his hired servants. The condition of a hired servant was, in many respects, worse than that of

a household slave. It is, therefore, supposed that our Lord used the word *misthios*, instead of *doulos*, to point out the depth of the wretchedness and misery to which the prodigal son was reduced. Slaves not only had the advantage, in many respects, over a hired servant, but in some respects over the children of freemen; for, according to the Roman law, a slave could not be sold but once, whereas a child could be sold three times.

We shall now proceed to inquire into the teachings of the Bible on the great question of slavery; and we shall, in the first place, examine the Old Testament on this subject.

The first place where the word *slave* occurs in any known language is in the Bible. It is used in the famous oracle uttered by Noah respecting the descendants of Ham. "And he said, cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." (Gen. ix. 25.) The original word which is here employed properly signifies a *slave*, and points out the nature of the curse which, in the course of time, was to fall upon the descendants of Ham. From the use of the word in this oracle, it has been inferred that slavery existed among the Antediluvians; but whether this be, or be not, a fact, we have no positive information.

Slavery appears to have very generally prevailed in the age of Abraham. That patriarch had three hundred and eighteen servants, literally *slaves*, born in his own house, and trained to arms, with whom he pursued and vanquished the four kings who had taken captive his brother's son. (Gen. xiv. 14) And it appears from the conversation which took place between him and the king of Sodom after the battle, both believed the conqueror had a right to consider his prisoners as a part of the spoil. "Give me," says the king, "the persons, and take the goods to thyself." (Ver. 21.) It is indeed evident from numberless passages of Scripture, that the domestics whom our translators call *servants*, were in those days universally considered as the most valuable part of their masters' property, and classed with his flocks and herds.

Thus when the sacred historian describes the wealth of Abraham, he says, "That he had sheep and oxen, and men-servants and maid-servants, and camels" (Gen. xxiv. 35.) And when Abimelech wished to make some reparation to the patriarch for the unintentional injury he had done him, "He took sheep and oxen, and men-servants, and women-servants, and gave them to Abraham, and restored to him Sarah his wife." (Gen. xx. 14.) The riches and power of Isaac and Jacob are estimated in the very same way. Of the former it is said, "The man waxed great, and went forward and grew, until he became very great, for he had possessions of flocks and possessions of herds, and great store of servants, literally *slaves*, and the Philistines envied him." (Gen. xxvi. 13, 14.) The latter we are told, "Increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and camels." (Gen. xxx. 43.)

The patriarchal form of government, as we have seen, included the condition of slavery, and was highly favourable to that state of society. And it is highly probable that the governments which existed under the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were the best governments in the world which existed at that time. And it is believed that the condition of the slaves of these patriarchs, when compared with the condition of the surrounding nations, was highly enviable. They were taught the knowledge and instructed into the worship of the true God—their employment was of a rural character, attending the herds and flocks of their masters. All their temporal wants were well supplied; they were freed from the restless cares and corroding anxieties of the world; they were well satisfied and contented with their condition as slaves, otherwise they would not have been entrusted with arms.

According to the doctrine of the Abolitionists, these very patriarchs should be ranked among the most wicked and abominable men, for they held property in man; they deprived their fellow-men of their natural rights; they degraded them to a level with brutes, and reckoned them

as so much property along with their sheep and oxen ; that they were living in the daily habit and practice of sin, in thus detaining their fellow-men in bondage ; that it was their duty, their indispensable duty, to have liberated all their slaves at once, let the consequences have been what they might ; nay, that these very patriarchs were all *man stealers*, and deserved death.

But the character which is given of Abraham in the Bible is very different. In the sacred volume he is represented as being the friend of God—as the father and pattern of the faithful—as one who, with joy unspeakable, foresaw the coming of the Messiah—as a noted possessor of the heavenly glory. There is not a saint whose name is recorded in the Old Testament, whose reputation stands higher than that of Abraham, for piety, integrity, and virtue, notwithstanding he was a slaveholder. And there is not a passage in the whole Bible, which intimates that God disapproved his conduct in holding slaves. It indeed was a virtue, instead of a vice, in the conduct of Abraham. He became occasionally involved in war with the surrounding nations, and while they offered up their prisoners of war in sacrifice to their false divinities, Abraham adopted his as slaves, taught them the knowledge and worship of the true God, and supplied all their temporal wants. This course of conduct was an amiable trait in his character, and evinces to every reflecting man, that, instead of his being an abominable sinner, he was an enlightened saint.

But would it not have been a virtue in Abraham to have liberated all his slaves, and made freemen of them ? I answer no, it would not ; Abraham had engrossed all the wealth of the community, and all the members of the community were, therefore, entirely dependent upon him for support. As he was the legal owner of all the property of the community, it was a much better order of things for him to remain lord of the community, by which he was under obligation to supply all the temporal wants of the community in all the vicissitudes of life. These slaves were incapable of self-government, and had he

have liberated them, they would, probably, have relapsed into idolatry, and become an easy prey to the surrounding nations. I have no hesitation in saying, that, in my judgment, their condition would have been rendered infinitely worse, had they been liberated, than what it was to remain in a state of servitude to the patriarch. Abraham sustained to his slaves the relation of a law-giver, a ruler, a judge, a protector, a benefactor, a father, a religious teacher, and a master. It was certainly much better for his slaves to have remained under his mild and paternal government, than what it would have been to be made free, and then to have supported, protected, and defended themselves, the best way they could.

That the practice of buying and selling servants, thus early begun among the patriarchs, descended to their posterity, is known to every attentive reader of the Bible. It was expressly authorized by the Jewish law. "Both thy bond-men and bond-maids," says Moses, "shall be of the heathen that are round about you : of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession ; they shall be your bond-men for ever." (Lev. xxv. 39.)

According to the law of Moses, there were several ways of legally acquiring slaves.

1. *By captivity.* Captivity is supposed to have been the first origin of slavery. According to the law of Moses, the Jews were to make slaves of their captives. "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein, shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it : and when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thine hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword : but the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city,

even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself; and thou shalt eat the spoil of thine enemies." (Deut. xx. 10, 14.)

2. *By debt*, when persons being poor were sold for the payment of their debts. "The creditor is come to take my two sons for bondmen." (2. Kings, iv. 1.)

3. *By committing a theft*, without the power of making restitution. "If a thief be found breaking up, he should make full restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft." (Exodus, xxii. 23.)

4. *By birth*, when persons were born of married slaves. These are termed *born in the house*. "And when Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan." (Gen. xiv. 14.) They are also said to be *home-born*. "Is Israel a servant? Is he a *home-born slave*? why is he spoiled?" (Jer. ii. 14.)

5. *By purchase with money*. "And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and all that were *bought with his money*, every male among the men of Abraham's house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the self-same day, as God had said unto him." (Gen. xvii. 23.)

Notwithstanding these legal methods of acquiring slaves, the Jews were strictly forbidden from acquiring such property by any other than fair means. "He that stealeth a man," said their lawgiver, "shall surely be put to death." (Lev. xxi. 16.)

As slavery was legalized by the law of Moses, so various statutes were passed to regulate the conduct of the master towards his slave.

1. The master was to provide food and raiment for the slave, and to treat him with humanity. "And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant: but as a hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of Jubilee: and then shall he depart from thee, both he and

his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return." (Levit. xxv. 39, 41.) This passage indeed speaks expressly of slaves who were of the Hebrew descent. The law regulating the conduct of masters towards alien-born slaves was, in some respects, different, and admitted of more rigour. "Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about; of them shall ye buy bond-men, and bond-maids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession: and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them as a possession; they shall be your bond-men for ever; but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour." (Levit. xxv. 44, 46.)

2. If a master struck a slave with a rod or staff, and the servant died under his hand, he was to be punished by the magistrate; if, however, the slave survived a day or two, the master was to go unpunished, as no intention of murder could be presumed, and the loss of the slave was deemed a sufficient punishment. "If a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money." (Exodus xxi. 20, 21.)

3. If a slave lost an eye or a tooth from a blow of the master, such a slave acquired liberty. "If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. And if a man smite out his man-servant's tooth, or his maid-servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake." (Exodus xxi. 26, 27.)

4. Slaves were to rest on the Sabbath, and on the great festivals. "Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor

thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates ; that thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm, therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day." (Deuteronomy v. 13, 15.) In order to induce the Jews more particularly to observe this law, regulating the conduct of the master towards the slave, he reminds them of their condition of slaves in Egypt, when they did not enjoy any rest of the Sabbath, but were compelled to work every day in the week.

5. They were to be invited to certain feasts. "Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thy oil, or the firstlings of thy herds, or of thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy free-will-offerings, or heave-offerings of thine hand : but thou must eat them before the Lord thy God in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates." (Deut. xii. 17, 18.) "And thou shalt keep the feast of weeks unto the Lord thy God with a tribute of a free-will offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give unto the Lord thy God, according as the Lord thy God has blessed thee : and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are among you, in the place which the Lord thy God has chosen to place his name there." (Deut. xvi. 10, 11.)

6. A master who had betrothed a female slave to himself, if she did not please him, was to permit her to be redeemed, and was prohibited from selling her to a strange nation, seeing that he had dealt deceitfully with

her. If he had betrothed her to his son, he was to deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he took another wife, her food, raiment, and duty of marriage, he was not to diminish. And if he did not these three unto her, then she was to go out free without money. "If a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men-servants do. If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, than shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her to a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her. And if he have betrothed her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall he not diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money." (Exodus, xxi. 7, 11.)

7. Hebrew slaves were to continue in servitude only till the year of Jubilee, when they might return to liberty, and their master could not detain them against their wills. If they were desirous of continuing with their master, they were to be brought to the judges, before whom they were to make a declaration that for this time they disclaimed the privilege of the law; and had their ears bored through with an awl against the door-posts of their masters' houses, after which they had no power of recovering their liberty until the next year of jubilee, after forty-nine years. "If the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children, I will not go out free; then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door-post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever." (Deut. xxi. 5, 6.) This significant ceremony implied that they were closely attached to that house and family; and that they were bound to *hear*, and punctually *obey*, all their master's orders. This law did not extend to alien-born slaves; it only regarded Hebrew slaves.

8. If a Hebrew by birth was sold to a stranger, or an alien dwelling in the vicinity of the land of Judea, his

relations were to redeem him, and such a slave was to make good the purchase money if he were able, paying in proportion to the number of years that remained, until the year of Jubilee. "And if a sojourner or stranger wax rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth by him wax poor, and sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner by thee, or to the stock of the stranger's family : after that he is sold he may be redeemed again ; one of his brethren may redeem him : either his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or any that is nigh of kin unto him of his family may redeem him ; or if he be able he may redeem himself. And he shall reckon with him that bought him, from the year that he was sold to him, unto the year of Jubilee ; and the price of his sale shall be according to the number of years, according to the time of a hired servant shall it be with him. If there be yet many years behind, according unto them shall he give again the price of his redemption out of the money that he was bought for. And if there remain but few years unto the year of Jubilee, then he shall count with him, and according unto his years shall he give him again the price of his redemption. And as a yearly hired servant shall he be with him, and the other shall not rule with rigour over him in thy sight. And if he be not redeemed in these years, then he shall go out in the year of Jubilee, both he, and his children with him." (Levit. xxv. 47, 54.)

9. If the slave of another nation fled to the Hebrews, he was to be received hospitably, and on no account given up to his master. "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee ; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best : thou shalt not oppress him." (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.)

Beside these general laws, by which slavery was regulated among the Hebrews, there were other regulations and customs that prevailed among the Jews respecting slavery.

All the property which slaves acquired belonged to

their masters, hence they are said to be worth double the value of hired servants. "It shall not seem hard, when thou sendest him away free from thee ; for he hath been worth a double hired servant to thee." (Deut. xv. 18.)

They formed marriages at the will of their master ; but their children were slaves, who, although they could not call him a father, yet they were attached and faithful to him as a father, on which account the patriarchs trusted them with arms.

If a married Hebrew sold himself, he was to serve for six years, and in the seventh he was to go out free, together with his wife and children : but if his master had given one of his slaves to him as a wife, she was to remain, with her children, as the property of her master." "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve : and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself. If he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master gave him a wife, and she have borne him sons or daughters ; the wife and the children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself." (Exod. xxi, 2, 4.)

The duty of slaves was to execute their lord's commands, and they were for the most part employed in tending cattle, or in rural affairs ; and, though the lot of some of them was sufficiently hard, yet under a mild and humane master, it was tolerable. "If I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid servant, when they contended with me ; what then shall I do when God riseth up ? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him ?" (Job, xxxi, 13, 14.)

When the eastern people have no male issue, they frequently marry their daughters to their slaves, and the same practice appears to have obtained among the Hebrews, as we read in I. Chron. ii. 34, 35. "Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters, and Sheshan had a slave, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha, and Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha, his slave, to wife." In Barbary, the rich people when childless, have been known

to purchase young slaves, to educate them in their own faith, and sometimes to adopt them as their own children. The greatest men of the Ottoman empire are well known to have been slaves, brought up in the Seraglio ; and the Mameluke sovereigns of Egypt were originally slaves. Thus the advancement of the Hebrew captive, Joseph, to be viceroy of Egypt, and of Daniel, another Hebrew slave, to be the chief minister of state in Babylon, corresponds with the modern usages of the East.

From the foregoing observations, I presume it will be readily admitted that the laws of Moses fully legalized slavery. The system of slavery is interwoven into the whole of the Mosaic economy. All the precepts of that institution, both civil and religious, abound with allusions and references to it. Even the decalogue, or ten commandments, which were inscribed upon the tables of stone by the finger of God, give their explicit sanction to this system. Two of the ten commandments are what is termed slave laws. One of them is designed to regulate the conduct of the master towards the slave on the Sabbath, and the other regulates the conduct of a Jewish citizen towards the slave of his neighbour. If slavery, thus regulated by law, was morally wrong, was a crime of the deepest dye, under that dispensation, God could not have countenanced it.

The Abolitionists assert that slavery is unqualifiedly condemned in the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah. In this chapter the Prophet openly, boldly, and sharply, reproveth the Jews for their wickedness and hypocrisy, and particularly for their formality in worship. But it cannot be reasonably supposed that he reproveth them for observing, in a proper and becoming manner, the laws and institutions of Moses. At the time the Prophet addressed the nation, not one of the slave laws had been repealed, they were all in full force. It is unreasonable, therefore, to suppose, that the Prophet utterly condemned what God by Moses had established.

The passage to which the Abolitionists refer, reads as follows :—"Is not this the fast that I have chosen ? to

loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke." (Isaiah I. viii. 6.) It is not absolutely certain that the Prophet had any allusion whatever to slavery, in his remarks as above quoted. If he alluded to slavery among other things, he must have referred to the abuse of the institution of slavery, and not to the institution itself as established by law. It is, however, probable that the Jews had disregarded the laws of slavery among other acts of oppression and wickedness, and had drawn upon themselves the just displeasure of God. Indeed, in the third verse of this chapter, there is a complaint of this kind. The Prophet charged the Jews with violating one of the slave laws, by exacting labour from their servants on the days of their public fasts, which was an express violation of the direction of Moses.

The best Commentators suppose the Prophet alluded, principally, in the passage above quoted, to the ecclesiastical oppression and tyranny, which, at that time, prevailed in the Jewish church. Jesus Christ referred to the same burdens in the remarks to his disciples, as recorded in Matthew xxiii. 3. "For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." These heavy burdens were the traditions which the ecclesiastical rulers added to the law of Moses, and called by their own writers *the strokes of the Pharisees*, as being such as made the service of God burdensome. These traditions were enforced by the sanction of penal laws, such as fines and confiscations, and even by casting multitudes into prison, and detaining them for a long time in filthy dungeons. However heavily these burdens oppressed the people, the ecclesiastical rulers would not move them with one of their fingers. They enforced the observance of these traditions without mercy, even against those who were the most severely and cruelly pressed by them. At the same time, the Jewish nation abounded in wickedness of almost every description. Under these circumstances

the pungent and emphatic language of the Prophet was highly appropriate. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke."

Thus it appears that the Abolitionists can derive no authority, from either the law or the prophets, in justification of their doctrine. I feel no hesitation in saying, that there is not a passage in the Old Testament, which, upon any fair construction, can be adduced in support of their wild and headlong course. But what shall be said of those learned divines, who affirm that the law of Moses never sanctioned slavery? It is highly probable that these reverend gentlemen never examined the Bible on the subject, and that they have hazarded their reputation for honesty and integrity, by affirming slavery to be inconsistent with the laws of God, under the Mosaic dispensation, when, at the same time, they had never examined the laws of God on the subject. How applicable to such men is the maxim of our Lord:—"If the blind lead the blind, they will both fall into the ditch."

It may, however, be very justly said, that the laws of slavery to which we have referred, are all contained in the Old Testament, and were given to the Jews, and, therefore, have no reference to us under the gospel age. It is granted that the laws of Moses respecting slavery are not in force now, and especially are not binding upon Gentile converts to Christianity. But still these laws have an indirect bearing upon the subject. They established slavery among the Jews. The Jews, therefore, legally held slaves during the personal ministry of our Lord. Slavery, then, existed among the Jews when Christianity was established. It also existed among the Greeks and Romans when Christianity was planted among the pagan nations. Under these circumstances, we turn to the New Testament, and inquire into the teachings of Jesus Christ and his Apostles on this subject.

Jesus Christ during his public ministry never interfered with political or civil questions. He but seldom, if ever,

touched upon the subject of private rights. He left these matters for the adjustment of civil rulers. He taught all men to love one another, to respect each others rights, to submit to each other ; to show all fidelity, to be obedient, humble and meek ; and to know that his kingdom was not of this world.

The Apostles, however, in some respects, pursued a different course. Several important questions appear to have been settled by them, with which Jesus Christ but seldom, if ever, meddled.

1st. They fully recognized civil government as an ordinance of God ; in other words, that it is the will of God that men should not live as the beasts of the field, without control ; but that they should be formed into societies regulated by laws, and that the laws should be executed by magistrates appointed for that purpose. The particular *forms* of government they left to the wisdom of men to frame, and to nations to regulate ; but what the spirit of the government should be, they have plainly indicated. What kind of government and rulers are intended, the Apostles thus particularly specify : Romans, xiii. 1, 3, 4 ; 1 Peter, ii. 14. "They are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same ; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain ; for he is the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath, sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." They are God's ministers attending to this very thing ; that is, their talents and their time are wholly employed in this great and good work. Such are the principles of government laid down in the New Testament, and such the duties which it prescribes to the rulers and magistrates of nations.

But Christianity does not confine its injunctions to one part of the community, and leave the rest to act as they please : it addresses itself likewise with equal energy to the people, and binds on their consciences the obligations of subjection and obedience. Subjects are taught to be

submissive and obedient to the higher powers ; to pray for them ; to fear God and honour the king ; to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's ; to render tribute to whom tribute is due ; custom to custom ; fear to whom fear ; honour to whom honour ; and to do all this, not merely because the civil laws require it, and for fear of punishment from men, but for conscience-sake, and in obedience to the laws of God. (Matt. xxii. 21 ; Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 ; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2 ; Tit. iii. 1 ; 1 Peter ii. 13, 15.) These injunctions are highly reasonable, and exactly correspond with the nature and state of things. If the members of a community refuse to honour and obey the divine ordinance, to be subject to government, to give high respect to rulers, or to pay them tribute,—and all this, not from fear of punishment, but for conscience-sake, it must be allowed by every rational man, that they resist an ordinance of God,—an ordinance that is both reasonable and beneficial, and deservedly receive to themselves condemnation.

2. The Apostles expressly taught that, by becoming a Christian, a man did not abolish nor change his civil rights. The civil state which a man was in before his conversion, is not altered by that conversion, nor does the grace of God absolve him from any claims which either the state or his neighbour may have on him. This was a rule of conduct which the Apostle says was ordained in all the churches. “But as God has distributed to every man, as the Lord has called every man, so let him walk : and so *I ordain in all the churches*. Is any man called being circumcised ? let him not become uncircumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but keeping the commandments of God. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a *slave* ? care not for it, but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a *slave*, is the Lord's free man : likewise, also, he that is called, being free, is Christ's *slave*.” (1. Cor. vii. 17, 22.)

The rule which the Apostle here lays down, and which was established in all the churches, and is still in

force, is one expressly in point, and touches the question at issue. The law of Moses legalized a certain description of slavery among the Jews. Under the dispensation of the Gospel, which immediately succeeded the Mosaic economy, the Apostle established a rule that the civil condition of the *slave* and his *master*, by embracing Christianity, was not changed, but that this civil condition of *slave* and his *master* was still to continue, even should they both become members of the same church. And the same rule applied to the *slave* and his *master* who was converted to the Christian faith, either among the Greeks or the Romans. And the same rule is also applicable to the *slave* and his *master* now, in this or any other country.

Hence the New Testament, and especially the apostolic Epistles, abound with directions for the regulation of the conduct of the slave and his master towards each other. Thus, slaves were enjoined, as a necessary part of religion, to obey and serve their masters with all proper respect, fidelity and diligence, not purloining, not answering again, with good will doing service as unto the Lord, and not unto men; knowing whatsoever good thing any man doeth, that shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. These things, when really believed and duly considered, will have much stronger influence to engage them to a faithful and cheerful discharge of their duty, than mere custom, or the law of the country; for it will be observed, that the Apostle enjoins submission and obedience on the part of the slave to his master, not only as a civil, but also as a religious duty. He expressly enjoins this submission and obedience as a necessary part of his religious duty. On the contrary, masters are required to give their slaves that which is just and equal, forbearing threatening, knowing that they have a Master in heaven, and with him there is no respect of persons. These obligations are also bound upon the master, not merely as a civil, but as a religious duty, the observance of which constitutes a necessary part of his obedience to God. Eph. vi. 5, 9; Col. iii. 22, 25; iv. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 1, 8; Titus, ii. 9, 11.)

If these relative duties between the *slave* and his *master* were duly observed, the horrors of slavery would for ever cease. Although it was not the province of Christianity to put a period to the condition of slavery, yet by her wise and humane regulations she has mitigated its evils, and rendered the condition of the slave tolerable.

3. The Apostle Paul entered his strong protest against those who taught a different doctrine from that which we have stated. It was a doctrine of the pharisaic Jews, that proselytes were released from all antecedent, civil, and even natural relations : and it is highly probable that some of the Jewish converts might carry the same principle into the Christian community, and teach that, by the profession of Christianity, slaves were emancipated from their Christian masters. In opposition to this false notion, the same great Apostle required that all who were under the yoke of servitude, be taught to yield due obedience to their masters, and animadverts with great severity upon those false teachers, who from mercenary views, taught a different doctrine. "Let as many slaves as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is proud, knowing nothing, but doubting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, and evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness : from such withdraw thyself. But godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain that we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment let us be content therewith." (1. Tim. vi. 1, 8.)

The doctrine which was inculcated by the false teach-

ers, and reprobated by the Apostle, appears to be the same as that set forth by the Abolitionists in their "*Declaration*." They state in that document, "That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are before God utterly null and void." By this sweeping remark, which is a cardinal doctrine of the Abolitionists, they at a blow cut the slave loose from all the moral and religious obligations of the Bible to obey the *master*, and charge the master with the crime of *man-stealing*, which is worthy of death, for detaining him in a condition of servitude. The doctrine of the Abolitionists, and the doctrine of the false teachers in the apostolic age, are the same. They both absolve the slave from all moral and religious obligations of submission and obedience to his master, and they both lead directly on to a civil war. This doctrine excites the prejudice of the slave against his master, and the prejudice of the master against the abolitionist who was the author of the mischief, and who by the propagation of his incendiary doctrine, has excited the rebellion of the slave.

The course which has been pursued by the Abolitionists, has already produced those fierce and acrimonious disputes, to which the Apostle alludes in describing the dreadful consequences of the inflammatory doctrine the false teachers propagated in his day. If these fiery contentions continue to spread as they have commenced, we may well tremble for the fate of our country. It will soon be involved in all the horrors of a civil war—our wives and children will be massacred—our fields will be covered with the slain—and the fairest portions of our country will be drenched in the blood of our fellow-citizens.

I deprecate the measures to which some have resorted to arrest the progress of this false doctrine; they are of a highly dangerous character, and too frequently involve the innocent with the guilty. The Apostle has given us a more excellent rule, and a more effectual mode of arresting the progress of these clerical incendiaries: "From such," says the Apostle, "withdraw thyself."

Let those societies over whom such pastors preside, that is, pastors who have embraced and are propagating the doctrine of the Abolitionists, or who are secretly abetting and aiding the apostles of this Society, immediately dismiss them. And if the Society neglect, or refuse, to do this, let the minority of the Society do their duty; let them withdraw from such a man, agreeable to the direction of the Apostle, and refuse their support to such a ministry. The clergy must be taught that the question of slavery, as it exists in this country, is a political and not a religious question, and that it must be settled upon the floor of Congress, and in the halls of legislation, and not in pulpits and ecclesiastical councils. “Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.” Political questions should be decided by political rulers, and religious questions by religious rulers.

If slavery is regarded as a moral and civil evil in this country, the Bible points out the remedy, and the mode by which the freedom of the slaves should be effected. It is by redeeming them with money, by paying a fair equivalent for their value. In this manner the Hebrews freed their kinsmen from bondage, when they were sold as slaves to the surrounding nations. And the same mode was pursued by the primitive Christians. It is supposed that the Apostle alluded to this custom in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he asks the question, “Have ye been bought with a price?” (vii. 23.) That the charity of Christians was employed to buy their brethren out of slavery, we learn from the apologies of Justin Martyr, and Tertullian, who tells us “that the offerings of Christians at the Sacrament, were amongst others employed for that use.” In this way Christians may exercise their benevolence without invading the rights of individuals, or disturbing the public tranquillity.







